UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes **Francis Neilson**

Our Vengeful Government

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

World Democracy

By CURTIS W. REESE

Reason—Love—Vision

By GILBERT T. SADLER

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. LXXXVI THURSDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1920 NUMBER 3

HYMN OF REUNION.*

Tune, Antioch.

Joy to our hearts! Again we meet!
Let prayer and praise abound!
As rivers to the ocean's tide,
As iron to the magnet's side,
We come with hasting feet,
Our comrades all to greet,
And holy vows repeat
With gladsome sound.

Rise, comrades true in strength and love!
The Lord awaiteth ye!
He speaketh in your faithful word;
He fighteth with your valiant sword.
His trust and patience prove,
In high allegiance move
Till earth, like heav'n above,
Is glad and free.

Shout and rejoice, ye people all!
The days of hate shall cease!
Let justice and good will be done,
Let fellowship be surely won,
And 'round this whirling ball
The tribes of men shall call,
And stand, like angels tall,
In love and peace.

—*John Haynes Holmes.*

It is doubtful if any event since the War will prove to be more important in the long run than the outcome of the September labor disturbances in Italy. The full story of what took place has yet to be told, but it is known that rebellious workers took forcible possession of factories, and that a settlement with the ousted employers was finally effected on a basis of the participation of the employes in management. *Avanti,* an Italian journal, declares that the affair

has been a great triumph for the workmen and a great defeat for the masters. The success of the workers has been the greatest ever seen in Europe, having surpassed the victories of the proletariat in France and England.

A new day has plainly dawned for industrial Italy, and indeed for all the world. The period of wage slavery is gone; the participation of labor in management, and then in ownership of industry, is as certain as the coming of a new morn tomorrow. The recent international coal miners' congress at Geneva voted unanimously for the socialization of mine properties. Even here in America the great Proctor and Gamble Company announces the acceptance of the principle of employee representation in corporate directorship. A revolution is "on," moving in some cases violently, in other cases peacefully but none the less surely, which makes the story of the United Steel Corporation read like a chapter of medieval history.

The *Nation* is entitled to the gratitude of every lover of peace and human brotherhood for its far-visioned enterprise in organizing a non-partisan Committee of One Hundred for the investigation of alleged atrocities in Ireland. Plans are already far advanced for the appointment of a commission of five members, to sit in Washington under the auspices of the Committee of One Hundred and investigate the whole problem of what is now going on in the Emerald Isle. The purpose behind this courageous undertaking is far removed from any desire to stir ill-feeling between England and the United States. This ill-feeling already exists; it is being fostered daily by the disturbances of violence and horror which are reported in our press from Ireland; it threatens, if allowed to continue without interference, what the *Nation* is fully warranted in describing bluntly as "war with England." What is needed is knowledge of the facts of a situation which, in the present temper of the world, has unlimited possibilities of evil to all mankind; and it is for the securing and publishing of such facts that this Committee has been organized. Numerous senators, representatives, governors and mayors are already enrolled upon its list of members, as well as such distinguished citizens as Jane Addams, George W. Coleman, John L. Elliott, Prof. Irving Fisher, Ex-Gov. Folk, Dean George W. Kirchwey, Owen R. Lovejoy, Prof. Robert Morse Lovett, President William A. Neilson of Smith College, Rev. John A. Ryan, Miss Rose Schneidermann, and Raymond Robins. A great work is on foot which promises the good that always comes from truth.

Whenever we talk of Socialism, or some new order of society founded upon the idea not of competition but of co-operation, we are told that this would be a failure because we could not get things done. A socialistic state would destroy all incentive to creative action. Capitalism, whatever else it may fail to do, at least stimulates initiative, and thus provides that the wants of men shall be satisfied. Infallible is the law of supply and demand, and its resulting stimulation and direction of human energy. We have thought a good deal of this fine theory since the railroads in this country broke down. Improved transportation has been a crying public need for years, but the initiative for the satisfaction of this need has been strangely lacking. The same thing is true of the present housing situation. Millions of people in the nation are homeless, or will soon be homeless.

* Written for Reunion Service of the Community Church of New York, September 26, 1920.

Never was there such a "demand" for houses—and, at the same time, never was there such a total failure of "supply." Builders will not build today, just as railroads yesterday would not extend their lines. And for the same reason—the work, if done, must be done at a loss! The capitalistic system, in other words, stirs initiative exclusively in terms of profits. It appeals to the basest instincts of human nature—the self-seeking instincts of greed and lust and material happiness. A man will act if he can "make something" out of his neighbor. But if, through some chance concatenation of circumstances his profit is not guaranteed, or is not as large as he thinks desirable, he becomes as inactive as a hibernating animal. Capitalism, in other words, is successful only as a system of exploitation. And it is just this exploitation which in the long run must be inconsistent with human welfare. There are other bases of activity, other stimuli of initiative, say the champions of a reconstructed social order; and among these are goodwill and mutual aid. If it were only as socially possible for unselfishness to function today as selfishness, we should have no lack of houses.

The housing situation is, of course, a scandal of the first order, and the most illuminating instance at the moment of the bankruptcy of our existing social system. Why did we not discover long ago that the homes of the people should properly be built by the people themselves—that is, by government or public co-operative arrangements. At bottom it is as preposterous a thing that an undertaking so intimately related to hunman welfare and happiness as housing should be left to private enterprise, as that the making of roads, the building of sewers and water systems, the marketing of food, should be left to such enterprise. For years past in New York, as we suppose in other cities in this country, houses have been constructed not by the people who wanted to live in them, not even by the people who wanted to own them, but by speculators seeking the largest profits in the shortest space of time. The buildings so erected have been designed from stock patterns, have been made of the cheapest available material, and have represented a minimum observance of sanitary and safety regulations. They were reared not to provide homes for families, but profits for gamblers. And now that the profits are no longer in sight, building has ceased, and millions of people are, or soon will be, homeless! It is a situation full of tragedy and menace—but it may still have its uses in teaching America that, quite apart from all socialistic or communistic dogmas, there are some activities which are essentially public and not private in their nature, and that among these is the building of decent homes for men, women and children.

In the most elaborate study of newspaper reporting ever made in this country—the *New Republic's* "test of the news" in the *New York Times* on aspects of the Russian Revolution from March, 1917, to March, 1920—conclusion was reached (page 3) "that a great people in a supreme crisis could not secure the minimum of necessary information on a supremely important event," and (page 42) "that improperly trained men seriously misled a whole nation." In Herbert J. Seligman's book entitled "The Negro Faces America," the statement is made, on the basis of careful examination of newspaper stories, that (page 185) "for the present, the only course for white Americans to pursue is to cultivate thorough-going skepticism as to everything which American newspapers publish about the Negro." In our personal presence on August 20th last, in a public lecture on prison reform, Mr. Thomas W. Osborne declared that "absolutely nothing that the newspapers print about prisons and prisoners can be believed." Such is the level of degeneracy to which the once proud "fourth estate" is fallen in this country! Long regarded as one of the chief bulwarks of popular liberty, the newspaper today must be soberly described as the greatest existing peril to democracy. As Mr. Walter Lippman has shown us so well, it is useless to talk about the virtues of free thought and free speech, unless the people have access to the facts. Democracy cannot function except on the basis of information; and it is just this information which the newspapers will not let us have. They either suppress the true or manufacture the untrue, or both—with the result that we today, like the ancient Greeks referred to in the "Iliad" (11:484-486), "hear only the news, and know nothing at all." What is to be done is now the most immediate question before the public mind.

The World Christian Congress, which met in Geneva in August, was notable for its insistence upon the ideal of church unity. The Congress adopted a resolution to form a league of churches whose object should be to put an end to proselytizing between Christian churches and promote mutual understanding between them for Christian missions among non-Christian peoples; to promote an association and collaboration of churches to establish Christian principles; to help the churches to become acquainted with one another; and finally to bring together smaller Christian communities and unite all churches on questions of faith and order. The importance of this resolution arises from the fact that it represents the deliberate action of a body composed of more than one hundred and fifty archbishops, bishops and clergy, gathered from many lands and representing many varieties of Protestant communions. It is as obvious to

these men as it is to the rest of the world that the day of division and rivalry is past, and that the first condition of a restored Christianity is a united church. This is an old message—tiresome to readers of UNITY no doubt! But until the monster of sectarianism is really slain, it must be reiterated again and again. Think of a great Congress of churchmen, assembled in "the year of our Lord," 1920, finding it necessary to pass a resolution to the end of helping "the churches to become acquainted with one another"!

In a vacation letter to the Editor from Quebec, there appears this statement:

> We went to service at 11 a. m. to the English Cathedral. . . . The Church is a fine large stone building with magnificent windows, but there were only about one hundred and twenty-five persons present, many being strangers.

On the same day came a letter from New York City, describing a Sunday service at one of the great churches.

> We listened to a good orthodox sermon on God by the Rev. ——. . . . I doubt if there were more than forty-five people there.

Nothing could be more unstudied and therefore more typical than these two experiences. They illustrate what is now everywhere to be encountered, winter as well as summer, in the cities of the United States and Canada—vast church buildings, seating many hundreds of people, supported at enormous expense, occupied on the chosen and guarded day of public worship by a few dozen people! And we dare say that the situation in the country towns is even worse than in the cities! Never in the history of the world was there a deader religion than Protestantism in all its orthodox and liberal forms today. Not even in the degenerate days of the Roman republic was there more pretension used to cover up "the body of this death." And our ecclesiastical authorities are as complacent as the Roman augurs! Is it possible that in modern Christianity, as in ancient Sodom, there are not men enough to save the situation by some plain speaking and determined action!

UNITY would record in grateful remembrance the name of George Nasmyth, one of its board of Editorial Contributors, dead in Geneva, Switzerland, on September 21st last, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. Born in Cleveland, Ohio, educated at Cornell, Harvard, Berlin, Goettingen, Heidelberg and Zurich, he was a ceaseless student of international affairs, and a loyal champion of the cause of peace. He will undoubtedly be remembered longest as the author of "Social Progress and the Darwinian Theory," a book indispensable to every one who would have correct knowledge and sound ideas on the subject of society and war. Mr. Nasmyth was in person a man of great charm—modest, gentle, kindly—a true exemplar in character as well as doctrine of the Society of Friends, of which he was a member.

Our Vengeful Government

The refusal of Attorney-General Palmer in mid-September to grant pardon to the political prisoners still behind the bars, expiating their war offenses nearly two years after the laying down of German arms, marks what may be not unfairly regarded as the climax of the cruelty characteristic of the Wilson administration. The delegations which waited upon the Attorney-General, to plead for amnesty, were no ordinary groups of citizens. They represented conservatives as well as radicals; the American Federation of Labor was in this case a partner of the Socialist Party; Mr. Gompers was heard as well as Mr. Stedman. A dignified plea, based upon justice as well as upon mercy, fell upon deaf ears and a closed heart. Mr. Palmer was obdurate in his refusal to act. The officer of a government elected and long favorably known as liberal, he was faithful to the best principles of the old-time Tsarist Russia.

This episode, so humiliating to every lover of human freedom, throws once more into striking relief the strangely vengeful character of the present administration in Washington.

> "It has been possible," says Mr. Alvin Johnson, in comment upon Professor Dodd's recent book, "Woodrow Wilson and His Work," "for an ardent and warm-hearted friend like Professor Dodd to transcribe the events of Wilson's whole life without producing one single instance of an act of impulsive generosity, or even of the more calculating virtue, magnanimity."

In this regard at least a President, often compared by his admirers to Lincoln, is at the opposite pole from that "kindly-earnest man." Mr. Lincoln pardoned and released his political offenders at the height of the great struggle against the South, long before victory, to say nothing of peace, was in sight. But not so Mr. Wilson! From the beginning not only of his presidency but of his career, he has known not pity. And in this his subordinates have taken color of their chief. The American government today is a vengeful government; such it has been ever since Woodrow Wilson entered the White House, and such it promises to be until he leaves. Note, for example, the facts which are now before us:

(1) At the moment of writing, it is reported by the Civil Liberties Union, which maintains the most careful records outside the official archives in Washington, that there are thirty-two conscientious objectors still in prison. Alone among all belligerent countries, the United States still wreaks vengeance upon the men who, upon the testimony of the chairman of her own Board of Inquiry, Major Walter G. Kellogg, must be regarded "not as cowards and shirkers," but "as a rule, sincere." England which lost nearly a million men killed in the war against the Kaiser, France which lost 1,385,000 men, Italy which lost another 462,000 men—all these have released their conscientious objectors. Only America, whose loss in lives sacrificed was comparatively trifling, still

holds out; and with her, by a curious irony, is Holland, herself a neutral nation in the Great War. Vengeance, in other words, appears in inverse proportion to the degree of active participation and suffering in the struggle—a fact vividly illuminating the psychology of war! Of course, there is no conceivably worthy motive in keeping the conscientious objectors longer behind prison walls. Their punishment now vindicates no law, acts as no deterrent upon others, exerts no redemptive influence upon themselves. Every principle of justice, every plea of mercy, every ideal of America and her purpose in the battle against Germany, clamors for their release. Nothing but vengeance bars their way to freedom. There seems now to be demonstrated, what we feared many months ago, "that all the conscience there is in America, is in prison"!

(2) When Mr. Palmer spoke his refusal to pardon political offenders confined in this country, he stated that these prisoners numbered at that time (September 14) one hundred and seventy-four persons. Of these, the most distinguished, of course, is Eugene V. Debs, candidate for the presidency on the Socialist ticket. Mr. Palmer informed the delegations which waited on him with pleas for amnesty, that one hundred and eighty prisoners had already been released through commutation of sentence or other action; and that the cases of eleven others were at that moment on his desk for review.

It may well be argued by some earnest friend of the administration, that the release of more than one-half of the political offenders during the past two years is itself not a discreditable record. But Attorney-General Palmer, in thus seeking to justify his department, is disingenuous. Many of these one hundred and eighty prisoners, as he perfectly well knows, have been released not by his clemency or that of the President, but, as in the case of the Russellites, by order of a reviewing court which has set aside a conviction and ordered a new trial. Still others have gained their freedom for no other reason than that their sentences have expired. Some few, like Mrs. Kate Richards O'Hare, for example, have been released by pardon or other executive action. But this only raises the vital question—why, if some are thus pardoned, are not all pardoned? What we have here in the case of political offenders in charge of the Department of Justice, is exactly that same circumstance which has proved so aggravating and so logically unaccountable in the case of conscientious objectors in charge of the War Department. Here are hundreds of persons guilty of the same offense, arrested and convicted on the same charge, imprisoned under the same conditions of durance! Suddenly, without rhyme or reason of any kind, some of these prisoners are released; one man is taken away into freedom, and another man right beside him is held indefinitely in captivity. A judgment seems here to be at work as irresponsible and irrational as that of the cataclysm foretold by Jesus in his vision of the end of the world, when he said:

> There shall two men be in the field; one is taken, and one is left: two women shall be grinding at the mill, one is taken and one is left.

It is this fact which has moved Mr. Debs to declare heroically that he will accept no amnesty but a general amnesty. It is this which grieves and angers those who have taken their liberty that they may work effectively for the release of all. We have talked with many of these former prisoners, and have found them all moved with indignation that they have received what has been wantonly denied to others.

It is vengeance which is at work here—vengeance, which is satisfied if it have victims, however few, on which its lust and fear may still expend itself. But there is more here also! There is cowardice as well—the cowardice which would remove a problem without facing it. The War Department dare not be as cruel to conscientious objectors as it would like to be, for fear of the liberal sentiment of the country, and so it releases a victim every now and then as "sop to Cerberus." On the other hand, the War Department fears the army and the patrioteers, and the big business interests, as it fears death; and therefore takes pains to pacify liberalism only so feebly, and at so slow a rate, as not to attract any public attention to what is being done. The same thing is true of the Department of Justice! The brave thing, and the honest thing, would be to grant general amnesty to all political offenders, and thereby brave reactionary opinion; or else refuse to release any offenders, and thereby brave liberal and radical opinion. Such action as thus becomes a man, is as little to be expected, however, from Mr. Palmer as from Mr. Baker. Both the victims of ignoble fear, their conduct is necessarily as timid as it is vengeful.

(3) A few weeks ago it was solemnly announced from Washington that the government was about to undertake to arrest and punish every one of the thousands of men who had evaded conscription during the War. The names of these deserters were to be published, the whole secret service set on foot to secure the apprehension of the victims, and the public called upon to join in the hunt.

The statement that so many tens of thousands of young men had evaded the draft was of course considerable of a shock. One thinks, with something very like a sick feeling, of the shrill crowing of the patriotic cock which rang from one end of the country to the other when the machinery of conscription was set in motion in 1917. This is in no sense a conscription of the unwilling, said the President. This is a 100 per cent enrollment, screamed the newspapers. Americans believe in the war, and fight for the honor of being first in the draft, chattered the old men in

the clubs. As a matter of fact, of course, not one youth in ten cared a fig about the War, not one in fifty wanted to fight, and one in a hundred actually ran away, to escape service!

More shocking, however, than the fact itself, and the rank hypocrisy accompanying it, was the recent revelation that the governmental authorities had not finished with it. One can have no sympathy, and very little pity, for these skulking young men. They, and not the conscientious objectors who stood up and took their medicine, are the cowards! But what is one to think of a government which, two years after the close of hostilities, when all men are eager to forget the shame of a disgraceful struggle, solemnly enters upon the task of hunting down these draft evaders like so many rats, and visiting upon them the full rigors of the law? What good purpose is to be served by such a dilatory attempt at justice? Is any motive at work other than the vindictive passions of hate and fear? Or is this perhaps the first step in preparedness for the next war—so to terrify men today that they will not dare to resist tyranny when the call to arms is sounded tomorrow? Whatever it is, it is bad psychology, bad politics and bad ethics in the sense that justice becomes injustice when it is not prompt.

(4) No analysis of this topic would be complete which did not include mention of the "raids" on Communists and others, conducted by the Department of Justice in January and later of this present year. What these events mean from the standpoint of law and of orderly government has been made abundantly clear, first by Judge Anderson of Boston, in his famous decision on the Colyer case, and secondly, by the "Report upon the Illegal Practices of the United States Department of Justice," by the famous committee of twelve lawyers, published by the National Popular Government League. Their implications from the ethical and social point of view, however, still remain to be interpreted. For parallel instances of oppression, we must turn to Tsaristic Russia, which was never bothered by the presence of any such Constitution as that which was once the pride and glory of America; or we must turn still further back to the days of the early Christians, who were pursued and outraged by officers of the law who themselves never committed the supreme blasphemy of taking the name of Christian. What we have here, of course, is the crowning instance of that spirit of vengeance which, whenever and wherever invoked, works pain and death upon its helpless victims. For these acts alone, the name of Palmer will stand as one accursed in those happier and serener days which will some day bless the earth.

It is difficult to set down a public record of this kind, without giving way to sentiments which are unworthy of UNITY's high standards of brotherhood and goodwill. To indulge in any impieties, even under such provocation, would be wrong at any time; and at this particular time it would be an inexcusable waste of energy. For there is rolling up throughout the length and breadth of America today that silent but stupendous flood of public opinion which is destined to overwhelm the government of Woodrow Wilson in such disaster as has befallen no administration in the nation's history save that of Mr. Taft. A hundred different reservoirs of public distrust and indignation are feeding this mounting flood—and not least among them, we must believe, is that tide of outrage which is stirred whenever vengeance is at work. Democracy is safe only when magnanimity is "the spirit in the wheels." It was his magnanimity that made Lincoln the typical democrat, and therefore the true American. It is this which we have now lost, and this which men of all opinions would have restored, as the very safeguard of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Hence the event which can be safely prophesied for November 2nd!

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

CORRESPONDENCE

Frederick L. Hosmer's Eighteenth Birthday

To the Editors of UNITY:—

On the sixteenth day of October next that honored and well-beloved minister of the liberal Christian fellowship, Rev. Frederick L. Hosmer, D.D., will attain his eightieth birthday. Author of many beautiful hymns which have quickened, comforted and inspired the individual soul and enriched the worship of the universal church, it is fitting that this anniversary should be gratefully observed, and many will desire to participate in it. On the date mentioned Dr. Hosmer's portrait, painted by an artist of distinction and presented by a group of friends, will be unveiled at the Unitarian Building in Boston, and remain in its permanent possession. The poet himself will be, at the time, on his way to California. Manifestly but a small number of those whose spiritual life has been uplifted by Dr. Hosmer's religious and lyrical gifts will be able to be present at the unveiling. The writer, a classmate and friend, ventures to suggest a participation in this anniversary which may include all our churches, ministers and laity. On the preceding Sunday morning, October 12th, let one or more of Dr. Hosmer's hymns be sung by all our congregations, prefaced by an appreciative and kindly word from the minister. Let it be in so far a country wide observance of Hosmer Sunday, not only in our Unitarian, but in all congregations which have been enriched by his spiritual song.

Should any desire a more direct personal communication of their regard and gratitude, let them write the poet himself, in care of the American Unitarian Association, 25 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass. This form of observance would assuredly be befitting the occasion and gratifying to the heart of him we wish to congratulate and to cherish in friendly remembrance.

CHARLES W. WENDTE.

Newton, Mass., Sept. 28, 1920.

THE PULPIT

Reason—Love—Vision

As the Only Power to Overcome Evil and Construct the True Social Order

By Gilbert T. Sadler, B.A., LL.B.

The world is struggling for a new Social Order. The Capitalist States, as armed brigands, together made the war in their long competition to get or keep wealth. They taught one another to grasp by force. But now the peoples are throwing off the rule of those who have so long exploited them in peace and sent them to be cannon-fodder in war.

A new hope has arisen, a hope of the people owning the land and chief industries, and organizing their own life. But in this hope they need to know what is the power that they are to use instead of the law-force and war-force the Capitalist States have used to preserve themselves.

A new life-principle is needed, or the true Social Order cannot be well built. The world wants a new Order, but such cannot be wrought while men rely on their armies or navies for their security, and seek to exploit those poorer or less clever, at home and abroad.

No Acts of Parliament, or Leagues of Nations to secure peace, will bring in the true New Order, except as they register a new Life-principle accepted by the peoples. No external organization can save men. We see now that a new spirit is needed. The Social Brotherhood can only be formed of men who have become sons of God. The world waits "for the revealing of the sons of God." The points to be considered are four:—

(1) In men are two natures, and they must all learn to know themselves.

(2) Then they must separate themselves from the rule of the lower nature.

(3) Such souls will form an invisible Church, the beginning and nucleus of the New Society; and many are in it already.

(4) They will bring in Commonwealths in each land, and the old system of Capitalistic exploitation and wars to enforce it will pass away as a dream.

We thus get the Contrast, the Cross, the Church, and the Commonwealth.

(1) The Contrast

Man has two natures, a lower and a higher. The lower has come up from the animals, and exists in man in a modified form, modified by his intelligence. He *thinks* of his appetites and passions, as animals apparently do not. He *plans* to realize his self-centered aims. So he is not a mere animal who blindly follows those impulses, yet he has the animal nature. But man has to learn to control his lower nature by his higher powers.

What is the carnal life?

In the New Testament, the lower nature is called "the flesh," i. e., not literal flesh, but the animal appetites of hunger and sex, and the passions of greed, hate, pride, vanity, revenge, and the instinct of fear. Self-preservation is the law of the animal life, including self-defense and self-propagation. And so with the natural man.

(*a*) The lower creatures develop all kinds of weapons of *war* for the purpose of self-preservation, as the sting, poison, horns, teeth. Man, with his greater intelligence, makes bayonets, bombs, and howitzers. But all these are in the same line of preserving the lower external life at all costs.

International Law has given men many modifications of war, by the Geneva Convention of 1864, and the Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907. But how little avail have these recently been—for International Law recognizes that, for *self-preservation,* a State can set aside these little rules of humaneness; and also, when one belligerent breaks a rule, the other may do so in "reprisal" (which leads only to more reprisals). Hence for that blessed word "self-preservation" neutrals are deprived of their commerce, and, by "angary," of their ships or rolling stock; and even their vessels have been destroyed. For self-preservation the Allies invaded or violated neutral lands. For self-preservation, Germany used her U-boats most brutally, and Britain used her naval power to starve the *civilians* of Germany for four years. Each thus made hate arise in the other nation. Until peoples see that self-preservation is *not* the final law of a true *human* life, International Law is futile, and all Leagues will be futile too. For a League to *enforce* peace will not end armies and navies. If it makes armies smaller, we know they can, by conscription, soon become national on the outbreak of a war.

The rulers of America and Britain are in no mood to lessen their "splendid" navies, and do not yet see them as instruments of a worn-out barbarity. The very names of these ships show the idea of them is of the old order—*Lion, Tiger, Viper, Revenge,* and so forth. The peoples are beginning to realize, however, that these armies and navies are not needed by men who labor and share life's work and wealth. These weapons are the instruments of Capitalist States to enforce the will of Capitalists (Financiers and Merchants) abroad.

At the beginning of the Great War, Lord (then Sir Edward) Grey, Foreign Secretary, said we were entering the war to *"defend British interests."* Belgium was quite secondary. (See Speech, August 3, 1914.)

Thus war belongs to the *old* nature of man; and the Christians were generally pacifists for the first three centuries, till Constantine made Christianity the State Religion. The official Bishops, of course, had to support the State after that, and Augustine then invented some excuses for wars, which later writers copied.[1]

(*b*) The lower nature of man (come up from the animals) also includes the wild appetite of *sex,* and leads men and women into a careless parentage, both before and within marriage. This, too, needs control, if a true Social Order is to arrive in our midst. Eugenics must be learnt. Reason must have sway. Only children that are desired should be born, and they ought not to be desired and sought by diseased parents, or parents who cannot yet afford to rightly support such children. Fair-play to the next generation! The two natures of man are clear in this respect also.

(*c*) Matters of *Industry* form the third sphere of the natural man. Not only in regard to War and Women, but also in regard to Work, must the spiritual forces rule. The old scramble for wealth, called competition, must give way to an emulation of service, and a sharing of work and wealth from each according to his ability, to each according to his need.

[1] Force should only be used to kindly restrain the irrational,—as the angry, lunatic, drunkard, or diseased.

How all these are to be done—the ending of war, the domestic organization of life, the true methods of industry—can only be discerned when men have accepted the spiritual idea of life instead of the rule of the natural life.

And what is the spiritual life?

The Sermon on the Mount sets it forth as an inward righteousness of humility, purity, sincerity, magnanimity, and serenity; and such great powers of the soul are further described in the Epistles of the Pauline School (1 Cor. xiii.; Colos. iii.).

To-day, to the New Testament Idea of the "Christ," or Ideal Life, we may add (*a*) the intellectual virtues of *open-mindedness* and *forethought*, organization for social effectiveness, and the cultivation of the sciences, such as Eugenics, Hygiene, Physics, and Chemistry, to alleviate and brighten human lives all over the world; and (*b*) the virtue of *self-ownership*, as distinct from subservience in a wage-earner to his master, or a wife to her husband.

The Spiritual Ideal may thus be said to be

Constructive Reason
aflame with
Cosmic Love,
inspired by Confident Vision.

This is the spiritual power by which alone war can be ended, and wealth shared, and homes beautified.

Reason alone may give luxuries for the few and leave the many in squalor. Reason, taken alone, produces tanks and bombs. Reason—the mental power of analysis and synthesis—we must use to *bless* the world, i. e., it must be lit up, set on fire by Love. And such Love must be unarmed, because supported by a courage born of insight and faith into the Ultimate Reality, the God who supplies this spiritual life to men who are willing to be crucified to the natural life.

The spiritual power needed is Cosmic Love, greater than domestic love, greater than patriotism (a rather narrow thing when it means "My country, right or wrong"). The spiritual life (the will of God, and the might of God) is Constructive Reason aflame with Cosmic Love, inspired by Confident Vision.

What do these terms mean?

Reason.—The conscious power of analysis and synthesis, of discerning the parts in a unity, and the unity of the parts; and thus the power that *constructs* a house, a song, a letter, a motor-car, a wise parentage, a Guild of Work in a Garden City; and if not aflame with Love, it will construct a tank, a submarine, or a corner in wheat.

Love.—Not mere amiability, nor mere liking, but the conscious *Life-giving* Passion; the enthusiasm for all which gives out its life in service: even to evil men it must serve and not retaliate, and so it overcomes evil with good. One's daily work lit by love becomes a service, and, if not, it must be changed at once.

Vision.—This follows the life of reason aflame with love, and sustains it; it is the feeling that we are being moved by the *Infinite* (inexhaustible) Life of Reason —Love: He ever evolves Reason—Love in men, using even their sufferings to this spiritual end. Hence there is no defeat to the soul active in intelligent Love, even though victory be delayed: the future is with him.

(2) The Cross

The spiritual, infinite life of God only arises in souls that die to the rule of the lower natural, self-centered life.

The central idea of Christianity is the Cross as the way into spiritual life; and the Cross means a crisis, a *separation* of the soul from the "old Adam," the "old man," the "flesh." The idea that self-preservation is our final law must be deliberately given up.

The natural, animal-like will to live must be subordinated to the will to love. The individual must "lose" his life to really find it, as a Livingstone gave himself to expose the haunts of slavery, and bore all the pain thereof for the joy set before him.

Man can and must separate these forces:—

Lust	Purity
Hate	Magnanimity
Pride	Humility
Greed	Generosity
Fear	Serenity

He must choose the latter, and repudiate the former.

Man must also choose the modern virtues, distinguishing

Prejudice from open-mindedness,
Subservience from self-ownership.

Thus there are seven aspects of the one spiritual life. "Christ crucified" means the timeless law or principle of separating off the lower nature, by which process the Spiritual, Divine Life emerges in souls. We are saved by the cross in this sense only. The crucifixion must be *experienced* by us. Each soul must "die" to the lower nature's rule, and take up the witness to the spiritual life in an evil world. Into each soul God seeks to impart His life—the Infinite to the Finite—and this is the redeeming work of God, ever going on. The cross is the soul accepting the Infinite Life as his own, and acting on it in a world which at first rejects it.

When a soul comes to see the two natures, the carnal and the spiritual, a crisis comes, and in that process God is at work. The soul knows the carnal life cannot satisfy him, and so by the very pain or dissatisfaction of sin, he is moved to accept the inward offer of God's own Life. Thus is God "crucified" in the soul, *separated* from the lower nature, and realized in the finite man. In each soul must "Christ" (God incarnated or translated into finite life) be "crucified" to sin.

Then a man becomes a new man, and a spiritual power, helping towards a new world in very truth. The New Order needs new men.

The soul's crucifixion is no light task. It means a definite breaking with

(*a*) Sexual lust indulged carelessly.
(*b*) The scramble for money.
(*c*) The method of war.

It means more, but in this essay we consider these only. Unless it means these, it becomes a mere pious theory or wish.

In all three, service must replace self-seeking.

(*a*) Reason must guide and control the *sex-appetite*, or it brings men and women into diseases outside marriage, undesired offspring within marriage, and disillusion and confusion in both.

(*b*) In the *work* of life, the aim must not be for wealth, but to educate oneself to do a share of the world's work, and take but a share of the world's wealth. We cannot serve God and Mammon (Riches). It is not possible to get free from the present Capitalist system all at once. While there are no adequate State pensions, men must make some provision for old age, and it is better to invest in some

honest and useful scheme which serves society than to hoard money. Yet we can protest against the system of perpetual unearned rent or interest, or the using up of workers to gain profits in which they do not share above their wages. We must work against the Capitalist system even while to some extent we act within it.

(*c*) In regard to *war,* the true security (so far as any security can be had in this world of imperfect men) lies in service, not in armies and navies. The Great War has *not* brought security, for Britain, America, and Japan openly uphold their navies still. They rely on the force that crushed the Germans; and their Churches uphold them. Hence a new Order needs a new principle, for this reliance on brute force will bring on another war with more ghastly weapons, unless it be brought to an end: and only *a constructive pacifism* can do that. The Quakers in America, in the eighteenth century, were safe against the semi-savage Indians, though others, who armed, were killed, and their houses burned by the Indians. Security is by fearless unarmed goodwill. Thus, the "Cross" means a giving of one's life over to trust *spiritual* forces, by which alone can lust and greed and hate be overcome, being replaced by Constructive Reason aflame with Cosmic Love, sustained by Confident Vision.

The Great War may have been planned by the Germans, but they were instructed by the *example* of the Allies as to seeking wealth by war. And it was also planned by the French, in such a writer as Colonel Arthur Boucher, who, in 1912-13, wrote three books under the title *France Victorious in the War of Tomorrow.* He showed how Germany would come through Belgium, and how France and Russia, helped by Britain, would conquer Germany, and take Alsace-Lorraine for France. As for the German atrocities, vile as those deeds were, they were done not in peace, but in war. Because the Germans were killed at Liége, their officers were "exasperated" to do atrocities, says Viscount Bryce, in his Report. So, because of the British starvation-blockade against Germany (against civilians, as well as their army), came the atrocious U-boat blockade. On February 4 to 6, 1915,[2] the German Government protested against Britain trying to starve 70,000,000 people, and declared that they would therefore blockade Britain from February 18, 1915, which they did. Both sides acted brutally, and their reprisals only led to more reprisals.

Reprisals must be given up. This does not mean that evil desires must be condoned and excused in the world, but that the resistance to them must be a *moral* resistance of exposure and protest, and, if necessary, of boycott (see the Gospel of Matthew, xviii. 17). Such a method, using *only* spiritual forces, calmly and without anger or revenge, undermines evil, as penalty and punishment and killing men can never do. Moreover, while the Allies may glory in their "victory," it is no real victory, because (1) of the *cost* to them and Germany of millions of brave lives and £40,000,000,000 of wealth. Such is the pagan's "practical" method. (2) Because the Allies were *"Prussianized,"* acting by unjust Conscription, by imprisonment of conscientious objectors, and by starving of German *civilians,* against International Law of the Declaration of Paris, 1856, and of the distinction of absolute and conditional contraband, which goes back to Grotius (1625). (3) Because the harsh conditions of the Armistice are making *hate* to arise; and (4) because the "victory" has made the Allies so *trust for security to their armed forces,* that they are now crying out against any reduction in the navies, and are even planning to get more Boy Cadets in schools, and hope for some form of Conscription for the future. The "victory" is an inward and real defeat, and a menace for the future.[3]

Thus only a real repentance from *all* war will end war. Each man must renounce all lust and greed and hate and fear, and live by Constructive Reason lit by a Cosmic (not a mere narrow patriotic) Love. Nothing else will do for the salvation of the world from its present confusion and insecurity. Such a spiritual life at once begins to bring peace and gladness. Thus, however lowly one's daily work may be, in some factory or office, or on the land, it can become a means of service, and even of joy, if the soul gets a Vision of the Spiritual forces, and accepts them as his law of life, as the Will of the Dweller in the Innermost. This spiritual life of Reason lit by Love was the Idea or Aim by which all nature was organized. Nature is so organized as to be a nursery, school, and home for finite souls: a place to energize in, and learn through difficulty. Nature exists so as to develop Reason lit by Love; and "there is nothing the body suffers but the soul may not profit by."[4]

The call now is to get a Vision that sees below the forces of nature, the forces of the Spirit, and to accept them as the Law of God for human life. That is the Crucified Life which the world needs to see.

(3) The Church

The Infinite Life of God, the Source of Nature's organized forces, the Sustainer and Healer[5] of man's life, the Lover of souls, needs a "Body" by which to act, and this Body is the Invisible Church of all "crucified" lives. These men and women are the hands and feet and lips of God, His instruments and organs. He needs them, and acts by them. No external Providence exists. No such God prevented, e. g., the plague, which took off 25,000,000 lives by a painful death in four centuries (1300-1700).[6] The only God is the Infinite Soul gradually being expressed in finite centres, to whom (through nature) He gives His life. Finite souls are real as well as the Infinite Soul, and together they constitute the One Absolute Reality. God is *not* the one and only Force, as the Hindoos imagine. They call finite souls and nature "maya" (illusion). But they are not illusions, though they may be imperfectly (by us) interpreted. Nature is God's mind-energies organized as a school for finite souls. Finite souls emerge in evolution, and have a limited freedom, as birds in a cage. They can feel the pressure or urge of the Infinite in their aspirations. God is ever Love, and so never existed alone. There are always (in time) finite souls wherein God "lost" and "found" Himself. God is love eternally, i. e., self-communicating Life. He needs finite beings to love, and be loved by, for ever. By them He works, as well as by the largely automatic forces of nature.

For the bringing in of the new and true Social Order, God now needs fresh and fervent souls, crucified to self-centredness, consecrated to His service, "New wine needs new wine-skins." We must not only

[2] See the *Times,* February 4 to 8, 1915.

[3] Supporting this, read a cutting from Gladstone made by the *Westminster Gazette* (under "A Thought for the Day"), December 4, 1918.

[4] George Meredith: *Diana of the Crossways.*

[5] By the *vis medicatrix naturæ,* which doctors can only help.

[6] *Ency. Brit.,* article "Plague."

live a quietist, meditative life—we must go into all the world, and preach the Gospel of the Infinite Life which has emerged, been evolved, in finite centers at last, as the Constructive Reason *aflame* with the Cosmic Love. This has now been unveiled. It is called "Christ" in the New Testament, but is even more fully revealed in our own day.

Here is a religion greater than the negative, passive, Nirvana-seeking peoples of the East possess. It is a passion, not for a desireless bliss for oneself (such as is sought in hot, enervating lands), but for more life and fuller for all men! To gain it men must learn of the spiritual forces, and come to the crisis or cross of separating themselves from the rule of lust, greed, and hate and fear. They must become "new creations" in "Christ," crucified souls, who feel ashamed of the world's

(*a*) Careless parentage,
(*b*) Grasping commerciaflism,
(*c*) Inhuman futile wars;

and, while protesting against evil, yet they must meet evil men with unarmed good-will, that will bear evil, but not do it.

These souls—and many exist now—form the invisible unorganized Church of God; for "they that are of Christ Jesus have crucified the flesh (lower nature) with its emotions and its lusts" (Gal. v. 24).

These souls feel and obey and glory in their LORD, whose will is the spiritual life for all. This Infinite (inexhaustible) Reason-Love "reaches through nature, moulding man." Such souls have the Divine Law of Life; and though they may vote for Parliament, or even act as M.P.'s, they do so rather to *protest* against the representatives of the Capitalist State than to try to force new laws on the minority. Why do we need laws of Parliament any more, when we have the one word in which all true laws are summed up: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (Gal. v. 14)?

This is the law which must be accepted and applied to all phases of life, for only confusion and misery, scrambling and war come without its rule.

. . . . . .

The Crucified Soul might do well to write out and sign this Declaration:—

THE NEW SOCIETY OF CRUCIFIED SOULS

I recognize that in me there are two natures: the natural, finite, and perishing on the one hand; and the spiritual, infinite, and eternal on the other hand. Though conscious that I may often falter and fail, yet in my will, and by divine, daily help,

I renounce the rule of	*I accept gladly the rule of*
lust,	*reason,*
greed,	*generosity,*
pride,	*humility,*
hate,	*magnanimity,*
sloth,	*industry,*
lies,	*sincerity,*
fear,	*intrepidity.*

In a word, I accept the spiritual divine life of
Constructive Reason
aflame with
Cosmic Love,
sustained by Confident Vision:—
for such is the inexhaustible and therefore Infinite Life, the Will of my invisible
LORD,
who reaches and redeems me, through nature and my own mind and every good soul, and seeks to reach all men. Henceforth, therefore, I will seek a true Social Order, a sharing of work and wealth, and I will use only spiritual means to bring it into the world.
Signed . . . . . .

(4) THE COMMONWEALTH

Now for a few closing words, indicating the nature of the Commonwealth for which to work, and the means to be adopted by the spiritually-minded to realize it on earth.

We need a Society which shares the work and wealth of the world, instead of a Society where each man uses his cleverness to get as large an amount of wealth as he can, for himself and his family.

We need a Commonwealth in this and every land, and a Federation of the same.

(*a*) The basis of that Society is in *the production of children.* This must not be done in the happy-go-lucky style of millions to-day. The strong drawing of man to woman, and woman to man, will continue, but it must be *understood,* and controlled to the ends of service, to creativeness by Eugenics, not by ungoverned appetite. Wise parentage must succeed wild indulgence before or in marriage. Chastity before marriage *is* possible, and is healthy. Some effort is indeed needed. But so is effort needed after marriage, to prevent over-indulgence. Man can and should make the effort, and not weakly give in. Within marriage, a wife needs both economic and personal freedom. If a mother, she may need to receive some help from society for each child, for she is a kind of civil servant.

The arrangements which society recognizes for the dissolution of marriage must be altered. Where love is dead, and the children and wife can be cared for, why should the marriage go on year after year in its degradation?

If society is to provide for mothers and children, society has a right to demand that only fit persons should marry, and should be trained for motherhood and fatherhood.

Reason aflame with love is needed for the true production of new lives. The old careless indulgence must disappear if a true Social Order is to be well founded.

(*b*) *Industrial life* will be largely in Guilds of Work in Garden Cities. Men must learn the deeper joy of co-operating, of putting men before money, of using their powers for a social good, and taking only a share of the socially produced wealth. Outside the Guilds there can be private "enterprise," but, in the main industries, this will hardly be profitable. The people as a whole will own the land and chief factories, but the Guilds will control their work, as to salaries and hours of work, and the election of the master craftsmen will be by the craftsmen themselves. Some general Council will be needed, instead of Parliament, to decide for the Guilds what they are to produce, at what prices, and in what quantities. Such will be a convenience to the whole people. Thus consent will become general when reason-love becomes general.

The Guilds will send representatives to a national Congress, and both Council and Congress will confer together annually. Each young citizen can freely select his Guild and craft from the "Guild Gazette," showing where workers are needed most.

(*c*) *Internationally,* the States, freed from control by a few Great Powers, will unite in a World-Republic. Disarmament, led by some courageous people at first, will have come in the world. Capricious violence will be held in locally by all citizens voluntarily being trained to meet it *without* armed force. The rifle and bayonet and howitzer will no longer be made. These will be looked on in museums as signs of a strange, barbarous age of scramble and slaughter. The distribution of raw material will be guided by an International Council for Commerce, and another Council will hear disputes as to territories or the breaking of agreements. The general public opinion will be ever educated to constrain men to humility. The glory and joy of service will make men *prefer* to lose land or money rather than lose men and their fellowship and goodwill.

How is this New Order to be produced? Will it of necessity take centuries?

No; it may come peacefully by *"direct action,"* sooner than is expected, if every "crucified" soul becomes a missionary to spread the light.

The people are more educated in this direction than one may think from the tone of the present out-of-date Capitalist and jingo newspapers. Their judgment day is at hand! The long-exploited people will do no injustice to abolish the law of enforced "distress" for rent, and *refuse* to work longer for landlords who take unearned rent perpetually. In their taking over the land and mines and railways, there will be no harshness. The present legal "owners" can be given good pensions, say for two lives in being, and also the offer of a place in the New Guilds of Work; or otherwise be compensated.

So with other industries. Men will *refuse* to go on as profit-machines. The shareholders will really be *glad* to get some system more stable and fair than the present "fever" of the rise and fall of stocks, and to receive what they really saved for—pensions for old age. So the International changes will come by a spiritualized people's movement in each land, and, as Capitalist States pass away into Free and Federated Commonwealths, the *cause* of modern wars will disappear.

. . . . . .

But for all this *a great spiritual revival is needed,* a new courage and insight; and such must be continually sustained. Constructive Reason aflame with Cosmic Love, sustained by Confident Vision, must be now *preached,* and received as the true law of human life. It is the only way into a true Social Order.

External arrangements, as Parliamentary laws or a League of Nations, should only come as *effects* of such a spiritual change; for, as given by Capitalist States, they will be of little worth, and not last long.

The Cross stands between us and that new Social Order of the sons of God. We each must die to the "old man." We must rise to share our life, and find therein a joy that passes not away.

CONTRIBUTED

World Democracy

The races, religions and nations of the world are interrelated and interdependent. Miscellaneous temperaments, and ideas, traditions and standards of living are thrown together: and the realization of the best in any one of these requires co-operation of the best in all of them. The old ignorance of one people in regard to the temperament, ideas, traditions and standards of other peoples is passing away. The old relationships between races, religions, and nationalities, characterized by apprehension, scorn and injustice, are beginning to be replaced by a relationship based on the world-wide community of interests.

We now know that the lowliest tribes have native virtues needed by the most cultured civilizations; that *exchange* of values is as essential to civilization as is the *creation* of values; that democracy between individuals must grow into democracy between races, religions, and nations; that every culture must have equal opportunity to develop the best that is in it and to make its special contribution to the life of the world.

Having begun to think and write and speak in terms of world civilization we shall never again be satisfied with the old provincialism. And if we are to escape the old mistakes and hatreds we must understand that an enduring world civilization cannot be builded on likenesses alone but that differences also must be builded into the structure. We cannot build a world civilization by ignoring nor by scorning nor by fusing differences; we may build a world civilization if we not only develop likenesses but also encourage contact and interplay and integration of differences. World unity is not the given. It is to be achieved. Leagues of nations, or religions, and of races are not examples of world unity; but such organizations are most promising methods of achieving world unity. Back of all effective efforts to build the world of tomorrow must be not only the dynamic and creative but also the tolerant and receptive type of mind.

INTER-RACIAL SYMPATHY MAKES FOR WORLD DEMOCRACY.

For some weeks I lived in a home with persons of various races and nationalities—English, German, French, Jewish, Australian, Peruvian, Filipino, and just plain American. So far as I was aware, no negro resided within the building, though several performed important duties about the place. Among the dwellers in this Manor there seemed no fear of contamination from inter-racial housing; but I frequently noted a prejudice against other races in the abstract (that is, races as classed in the encyclopedia) on the part of persons who exhibited no prejudice against other races in the concrete (that is, races as known in the household). While racial prejudice is at the bottom of many of the catastrophes of the world, it is based not on experience but on presuppositions due largely to accidental social arrangements. Defeated in war, not inherent by superiority but by accident of numbers or position, ancient groups were forced into slavery; thus they became socially taboo.

With the pressure of years came depression of spirit, which, in turn, was pointed to as evidence of racial inferiority. Some such process as this is sufficient to account for racial prejudice. I see nothing in color of skin, structure of hair, and the like that indicates inherent racial inferiority or superiority. Nor do averages count for much. All that can safely be said is that in every race there are individuals who are better and individuals who are worse than some individuals in other races. To find the average racial value is as impossible as it is to find the average parental love.

Democracy is but a dream so long as any person on account of race or color as such is denied any right or freed from any duty generally allowed to or required of those of another race or color.

I know of nothing more unfortunate nor more detrimental to human progress than race prejudice.

In our best moments we rise above the lines that separate peoples from peoples. We must make those best moments universal. Some years ago in a large religious convention in the South, on the last day the several thousand in attendance stood and sang

Blest be the tie that binds
Our hearts in Christian love.

and as they sang they joined hands. There was only one break in that vast audience, and that one was between two clergymen—one black and the other white. As the singing proceeded the white man saw his black brother throw back his kinky head, open his great mouth and break forth in the words

The fellowship of kindred hearts
Is like to that above.

Then the white man placed his hand in that of his black brother and the union was complete. And the great audience continued,

Before our father's throne we pour our ardent prayers,
Our hopes, our fears, our aims are one,
Our comforts and our tears.

INTER-RELIGIOUS FELLOWSHIP MAKES FOR WORLD DEMOCRACY.

Few things divide the human race more than religion. Religion divides into ethnic groups; these into divisions like Catholics and Protestants; and these in turn into sects and schisms. Most people inherit their religion. They are what they are through no choice of their own, save the simple desire to be what their fathers were. There are exceptions, but this is the rule. While most people are what they are by chance, still many people regard others as unforgivably wrong for being different. The cure for this condition is in the intermingling of religions. To know the adherents of another religion is to grow in tolerance and understanding.

Unless I am a slave to my own views of religion I can appreciate my neighbor's view. Unless I am tied by chains of bigotry to my own altar occasionally I can look out upon life from my neighbor's altar. In no way should my views on religion stand between me and my fellow man. My religion is at its best when it interferes the least with the development of my fellow-man's religion along lines most profitable to him. Bigotry and intolerance die hard, but they must die if brotherhood is to rule the world. Fortunately there is a growing spirit of fellowship in religion; we should and do welcome this spirit; and we must pledge our very best endeavor to bring about a closer fellowship between the denominations of Christendom and the religions of the world.

INTERNATIONAL PATRIOTISM MAKES FOR WORLD DEMOCRACY.

A state of mind in which we become zealous for the rights of all nations may be called international patriotism. Such a patriotism is gradually developing. We are coming to understand that in supreme tests religious and racial and national differences are superficial; and that under the skin and beneath the artificial difference is a common, persistent, glorious humanity having rights in all nations. International patriotism is prerequisite to any hopeful program of world politics. Without it federations fall to pieces and sacred vows become scraps of paper. Without international patriotism deep and abiding the world will remain an armed camp, and the shrieks of cannon-balls will rend the air. I plead for the brotherhood of nations—the patriotism of humanity. Never was such patriotism more needed than now, never was it more promising than now.

The world must gradually be organized on the basis of world patriotism. We get what we organize for. If we organize for war we get war; if we organize for brotherhood we get brotherhood. Let there be no mistake on this point. The world is capable of planning and creating its future.

Now is the time to think and talk and preach and write for internationalism. The thought of the world is turning in that direction. This issue is now the dividing line between men and policies. The contests of the immediate future will be waged around this isue. Shall the nations remain as they have been, armed camps, each seeking to outdo the other, each seeking its own individual and selfish aims? Or, shall the nations be woven into one splendid brotherhood, each seeking the good of all? This is the issue.

All the human and brotherly principles for which religion has ever stood are involved in this settlement; justice, peace, good-will, love—all point to the brotherhood of man, the Federation of the World. For religion to fail to hold up its high ideals now is to fail in its supreme duty. As a ministering agent the church has made good during these trying times, but as a prophetic body it has, with but few exceptions, failed miserably. But we have had the supreme awakening. We now see that narrow individualism must give way to broad fraternalism; that local remedies must be supplemented by world programs.

And in this movement for a new world order, America must not fail to lend a helping hand. In America we have all the races of mankind represented. We are developing a world spirit. We have few international memories and troubles to hinder us. We have promoted a large measure of justice and prosperity at home; and we must now co-operate with others in extending these blessings to the remotest borders of the world. We have led in peace movements. We have led in the signing of peace treaties. We sent the first case to the Hague Court, secured the permanency of that court, and introduced the most important bills. Before the beginning of the world war we had offered practically an unlimited arbitration treaty to the great nations. Our disposition and experience fit us to lead in this consort of nations in behalf of world civilization. Our idealism demands that we lead; all the world looks to us to lead.

Among the vast amount of war literature is a little book in which is told the story of an American boy who went to Europe to fight. Like thousands of others, he hated till hate ate at the his soul and he saw nothing but evil in his opponents. Came the time when the boy fell in battle; "fell and felt no pain; only struggle as he might, he could not rise; something did not connect." The battle raged. The young man saw a Jew working his way among the fallen. A dying Irishman called for the crucifix, and the Rabbi, grabbing that symbol of faith not his own, held it before the dying eyes, and as he held it a shell burst and the Rabbi lay dead, the Irishman in his arms and the cross of Christ in his hands. The American boy lapsed into unconsciousness; later he awakened and suffered and lapsed again. When he next came to himself he lay comfortably on a cot, but soon he was shaken with repulsion, for a boy next to him talked German.

The German boy stirred, woke, set his teeth as he twisted with pain; but he smiled through his pain into the American's face. Our boy was moved but love had not yet won. He turned his face. On the other side of him lay a grizzled haggard man of fifty-five whose face was concentrated in endurance. It seemed that with one ounce more of pain the will would break and he would scream. But the will held and slowly the muscles relaxed. The man talked English but his accent was German. There our boy lay between two enemies—no, not enemies, but brothers. A little mutual service, a little better understanding, and these three sick soldiers were one in spirit, and without any hate in his soul our American boy went to sleep, hearing the Prussian soldier repeating his simple creed for the last time and in English, too!

All through life I see a cross
Where sons of God yield up their breath;
There is no gain except by loss;
There is no life except by death;
There is no vision but by faith;
Nor glory but by bearing shame;
Nor justice but by taking blame.

And so it is always, as we know each other better we come to understand. And I dare say that when we come to understand life a little better, we shall see that Shelley was right when he said,

Nothing in the world is single,
All things by a law divine
In one another's being mingle.

CURTIS W. REESE.

A Very Small Bit of Woman Suffrage History

UNITY of September 7 contains an excellent article by Mr. Holmes entitled "Votes for Women!" and an extract from a fine sermon by Mr. Jones on "The Women's Uprising," in both of which we see the high ideals entertained by the early pioneers of Woman Suffrage, and the long struggle it has taken to attain those ideals. The fact that the beginnings of important movements are always interesting, however humble those beginnings may be, may possibly justify me in citing a wee bit of very early personal history connected with the woman suffrage cause in the West.

In the year 1868-69 I was a student in the Baptist Theological Seminary of Chicago (the Divinity Department of the University of Chicago), having graduated from the Literary Department of the university the preceding year. The subject of woman suffrage was just beginning to attract wide public attention. We had discussed it in the college for two or three years, and in the theological school it was becoming a burning question—some students and teachers seeing in it a very dangerous foe to Christianity. At the time mentioned (as near as I can remember in January, 1868), a joint public discussion of the subject was arranged for between the Baptist and the Congregational theological seminaries of Chicago, the same to be held in one of the large halls of the Court House of the city. It happened that I was chosen to represent the Baptist institution, and, as I held strong convictions in favor of woman suffrage, that side in the discussion was assigned to me. The newness of the subject and adequate advertising resulted in a large attendance. The particularly interesting thing about the affair (doubtless the only thing that justifies its mention at this distance of time) was, that at the close of the debate the Librarian of the Chicago Public Library came to me and requested a copy of my speech to file away in the archives of the library as the first public address, so far as he was aware, ever delivered in Chicago in advocacy of suffrage for woman. In accordance with his request I furnished him the address (about forty minutes in length—5,000 words or so) in full, and it was labelled and filed away in the library as suggested.

Is it there now? Alas! alas! no! The great fire of 1871, which destroyed half the city, including the Public Library, devoured my precious manuscript—my wee bit of a (dare I say "historic"?) brain-baby of my long ago student days. *Sic gloria transit mundi!* But at least it is a little satisfaction today, fifty-two years after, to reflect that whether my speaking out on this great subject was of any value or not, at least I spoke out very early; and I have continued speaking out ever since.

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

New York, September, 1920.

IN THE MASTER'S FOOTSTEPS.

(By Daniel de la Vega of Chile. Translated from the Spanish by Alice Stone Blackwell.)

Let the wild beasts tear and rend you!
When the struggle is gone by,
Let their claws be sweet with fragrance
Ever after, till they die!

Let the briers and brambles pierce you!
When your smarting flesh and sore
They have touched, my brother, leave them
Changed to roses evermore!

Let men's fierce hands pluck your eyes out,
In their dark, blind cruelty;
After, through your empty sockets,
Heaven's glory let them see!

THE BIG THREE.

Babylon, Greece and Rome
Held earth their prey,
They were the lords of earth—
Now, where are they?

America, England, France
Rule land and sea;
When time has gone its round,
Where will they be?

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

THE RUSSIAN INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

The Commission on International Friendship and Good Will of the Chicago Church Federation, at its monthly luncheon conference in Chicago on September 21, listened to an address by Mr. James G. MacDonald, chairman of the Executive Committee of the League of Free Nations Association. Mr. MacDonald spoke on the Russian international situation as it exists today, particularly the relations between Russia and England, France, Italy, America, and pointed out the effects, both on Russian solidarity and on international economic conditions, of the policy that has been pursued by the Allies toward Russia.

The attitude of the League of Free Nations Association is expressed by the following appeal which Mr. MacDonald presented as the official statement of that Association:

The world can be cured only by peace. As the British and Italian governments said in their official statement of August 23d, "Until peace is fully established between Russia and the rest of the world, an atmosphere of disturbance and unsettlement will continue to menace the world."

It is with extreme regret, therefore, that we see our State Department taking a stand of determined opposition to the British and Italian governments in their efforts to bring about a general peace with Russia. The world has already paid a high enough price for intervention in the affairs of that country. The indirect intervention of embargo and hostile propaganda, put out officially to prevent peace, is no worthier, and no less harmful than the open military interference that has preceded it. Trying to prevent peace until the ideas of one American official are carried out, is not the way to cure Bolshevism. Instead, Bolshevist influence will be increased by such a studied promotion of war, disorder, disease and famine. It is the way to discredit every democratic effort toward co-operation in foreign affairs.

The British Prime Minister stated the correct principle when he said, "The London Conference proposal (for general negotiations) was intended to establish peace with Sovietism. We are prepared to fight with the same weapons as we fight other political creeds with which we do not agree. In the end, one or the other will triumph, or something else will emerge better suited to conditions of the time. If anyone here wants to preach the doctrines of Sovietism, we can meet them, I trust, in the common sense of the people of this country. Peace is essential for all creeds that are worth preserving. The President's policy was right when he was urging the Prinkipo conference and warning against the very course our State Deparment is now following.

We, therefore, urge upon both candidates for the presidency, that they commit themselves to the principle that the United States ought (1) to do all it can to help Great Britain and Italy in their effort to end the war with Russia, and (2) to permit in good faith the renewal of trade relations with Russia. Nominally lifting the trade embargo on July 7th, the State Department announced that no passports would be issued, nor would mail or parcel post facilities be available to Russia.

BUILDING HOMES AND CUTTING COSTS.

Perhaps the most tangible contribution toward meeting Chicago's housing needs has been the launching of the Chicago Housing Association and the construction of its "Garden Homes."

The project with its 175 homes complete or nearly complete occupies forty acres at Eighty-seventh and State streets. The houses have been built practically within the year and are now being sold at cost, $5,700. Contractors who have been asked to bid on the construction of similar houses have estimated the cost at from $9,000 to $10,000.

The low cost of these houses compared with other recent construction results from the facts, first, the project is to pay the investors six per cent and no more; second, the advantages of large scale production with careful planning to keep down costs; and, third, the business sites on the tract have been sold for enough to pay for the cost of the land.

The houses are substantially constructed of good materials. Part are of toned brick and the rest are stucco put on over tile. Seven designs have been used and by minor changes of arrangement and finish of exterior monotony has been avoided and the individuality dear to Americans has been secured.

The houses are of five rooms covering 22 by 27 feet of ground. Most of the lots are 30 feet by 162.5 feet, but there are some which are 290 feet deep. The business lots are 25 feet by 125 feet. Most of the houses are single. The two-family house designed to give each family the greatest possible degree of privacy has been used to some extent.

The size of the project has made possible a landscape improvement plan de-

UNITY is a weekly paper which for forty-two years, under the editorship of Jenkin Lloyd Jones, upheld the fundamental principles of religion, political economy, and social relations; and this policy is maintained under the new editors, John Haynes Holmes and Francis Neilson. During the War UNITY was steadfast to the cause of righteousness and good will among the peoples of the earth. It has constantly dealt with the grave economic and political problems of Europe and the rest of the world in a straightforward unflinching manner, and it has from time to time published information of deep interest to its readers with which no other paper in the United States has dealt. It is non-sectarian. It advocates free religion and equal opportunity, as the means of uniting all peoples in the bonds of fellowship and amity. UNITY seeks to direct the minds of its readers to all that is best in the world of thought as expressed in the literature of the day, and its literary reviews are not the least valuable part of the several departments which its staff conducts from week to week. There are men and women of international renown writing for its columns and its subscribers are to be found in all the important countries of the world.

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signed to make the property as a whole and each individual home as attractive in exterior as possible. The company will retain control of the landscaping for two years in order to complete this development.

The homes are being sold to families who have been unable to secure proper housing. Families with children are given preference.

The insurance plan includes protection against total or partial loss of the house by fire, payment of all installments on the house for six months, in case of accident or illness of the buyer, and, in case of the death of the buyer, the insurance company pays off at once the unpaid balance and delivers a clear title to the widow or heirs. The plan both insures the company against loss and protects the buyer against losing any part of his early investment.

The tenants have organized a protective association to secure the permanence of the high standard of maintenance set to start with and to enable them jointly to take up with the company any questions which may need adjustment.

The Chicago Housing Association is planning to increase its capitalization and to use the principal returned on this investment to construct similar projects in other parts of the city.

European cities have long since been forced to take other than the usual commercial means to provide adequate housing for their people. American cities have been loath to face the obligation to insure wholesome houses by any means except sanitary and building regulations. The war with its cessation of building has brought us face to face with one of the greatest problems of cities, ancient and modern—how people can live close together in health and safety. "Garden Homes" is a significant experiment in the solution of this problem.—*Woman's City Club Bulletin.*

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